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THE BRĀHMAṆAS IN EARLY MEDIAEVAL INDIA*

MAHENDRA PRATAP SINGH

From the very beginning, the Brāhmaṇas were at the top in the clas i-cal caste-system of the Hindus. The predominance of this caste has also been testified by the early Muslim writers. Abu Zayd says that they were 'men of piety and learned' among the Indian people.[1] Idrisi calls them men of 'religious caste and devotees of India'.[2] Marvazi adds that 'they have leadership under the kings'.[3] Masudi remarks that the Brāhmaṇas are honoured by Indians as 'they are the highest and the most noblest caste'.[4] Al-Biruni also states that they are considered 'the very best of mankind' and were not like other castes bound to pay taxes and perform services to the kmg'. They were 'specially trained for preserving and maintaining their religion'.[5] Their high status has also been recorded by the noted Chinese travellers. Hsuan Tsang regards the Brāhmaṇas as the purest and most esteemed among the four castes in Hindu society and observes that because of this India was called "the country of the Brahmins."[6] According to I-tsing, the Indians considered them as 'devas'.[7] In the Dharmaśāstras and other literary works they are known as '*Bhūdevas*'.[8] It was obligatory

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* This article is based on the Arab Classical accounts.

[1] Abu Zayd, *Ancient Accounts of India and China* (Supplement), (tr.) Renaudot, E., pp. 66-67; Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India*, p. 129.

[2] Idrisi, *India and the Neighbouring Territories*, (tr.) Maqbul Ahmada, S. p. 37; Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[3] Marvazi, *On China, The Turks and India*, (tr.) Minorsky, V., p. 35, cf. Gardizi, on India, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XII, p. 627.

[4] Masudi, *Muruj al-Dhahab*, I, p. 154; Elliot, I, p. 19.

[5] Al-Biruni, *Al-Beruni's India*, (tr.) Sachau, Edward C., I, p. 101; II p. 132, I, p. 39.

[6] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, p. 140.

[7] Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhistic Religion*,...,pp. 24 and 182. Ibn Battuta observes that they were "the Chiefs of the Hindus" and were "venerated by the infidels" (*Ibn Batuta Travels in Asia and Africa*, (tr.) *H.A.R. Gibb*, London, 1957, pp. 119, 234).

[8] Cf. 'Brāhmaṇas are gods that are directly seen', *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, I. 7.1.3. There are two kinds of gods. For indeed the gods are gods and the Brāhmaṇas who have studied and teach the sacred lore are the human gods", *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, SBE, XII, p. 309; XXVI, p. 341.

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for a person going in the chariot to get down on seeing a Brāhmaṇa ;[1] it was incumbent even on the part of the ruler to show respect to a Brāhmaṇa on the road.[2] The Kṣatriyas and the Śūdras were required to obey and serve the Brāhmaṇas with respect.[3]

The birth of a Brāhmaṇa has been associated with divine origin, as Al-Biruni writes, that they were "created from the head of Brahman..... and the head is the highest part of the animal body, the Brahmans are the choice part of the whole genus".[4] Al-Masudi also says that they were regarded as the descendants of al-Brahman (Brahma).[5] The Brāhmaṇas enjoyed such a high position in the society on account of the traditional belief 'that they were created from the mouth of the Creator,[6] and also because of their pure living, devotion to religion and learning. In this connection Abu Zayd writes that being learned among the people of India, "They are devotees, doctors, poets, astrologers and philosophers".[7] Al-Biruni also refers to it and he quotes from the *Gītā*, in which some moral qualities of the Brāhmaṇas have been mentioned. He writes, "The Brahman must have an ample intellect, a quiet heart, truthful speech, much patience, he must be master of his senses, a lover of justice, of evident purity, always directed upon worship entirely bent upon religion".[8] Hsuan Tsang also mentions that "these keep their principles and live constantly, strictly observing ceremonial purity".[9] The *Mahābhārata* testifies to their age-old qualities by

[1] *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra*, III. 14.8.

[2] Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmasāśtra*, II, p. 147.

[3] *Parāśara Smṛti*, VIII. 33 ; *Laghu Āśvalāyana Smṛti*, XXII. 1. They are said to be the foremost among the three Varṇas (*dvijas*) (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, II. 6.2.5. ; V. 2.7.1). The high position of a Brāhmaṇa has also been stated by a maid-servant in the *Karpūramañjarī*, (HOS, p. 232) thus : "There is no rivalling you, for you though unlettered as an iron beam of a goldsmith's balance, are employed as a part of a balance for weighing jewels while I, though lettered, like a common (balance) am not employed in the weighing of gold"

[4] Al-Biruni, I, p. 101.

[5] Masudi, I, p. 154.

[6] In the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* (XI. 1.2.) we are told that "since he was created from the mouth, therefore the Brāhmaṇa shows his might by his mouth", Cf. *Ṛg Veda*, X. 90.12 ; Manu, I. 31,87 ; *Mahābhārata* Śānti Parvan, 122. 4-5 ; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, IX. 113. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I. 6.6.

[7] Abu Zayd, (Suppleent), p. 87 ; Elliot, I, p. 10.

[8] Al-Biruni, I, p. 103 ; Cf. *Gītā*, XVIII. 41-45.

[9] Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168.

praising them for their nobility, pure living, high thinking and devotion towards learning.[1] On the basis of various authorities Lakṣmīdhara says that "the ideal Brāhmaṇa donee should be devoted to the Vedic studies; chaste, truthful, serene, afraid of sin, practise ahiṁsā, keep burning the sacred fires, scrupulously observe the religious vows, love the cows and be free from greed".[2] The *Chachnama* also records their high status in society. It is said that even Muhammad bin Kasim the first Arab conqueror of Sindh, maintained their dignity and passed orders confirming their pre-eminence.[3] It is therefore quite natural that they were preferred to other castes. Such noble and large hearted Brāhmaṇas were really qualified 'leaders and guides'.[4] As regards the classification or the characteristic names of the Brāhmaṇas we have ample evidence in the epigraphic records regarding their *Gotra*, *Prāvara* and *Śākhās*. In this connection Al-Biruni says that "the Brahman is in general called by this name as long as he does his work staying at home. When he is busy with the service of one fire he is called isthin, if he serves three fires he is called agnihotrin, if he besides offers an offering to the fire, he is called dikṣita".[5] In our times too there are *Iṣṭhin* (*Avasthī*), *Agnihotrī* and *Dīkṣita* sub-castes of the Brāhmaṇas.

Another class of Brāhmaṇas was known as Śākadvīpī. Originally they were called Maga Brāhmaṇas or Bhojakas, who were certainly outsiders.[6] Their original home was Persia, from where they came to Śakadvīpa (Scythia) and finally from this region they migrated to India. They were specially Sun-worshippers and held the office of the priest of the deity Sun.[7] About the Persian priest Magians Al-Biruni writes, "There are some Magians upto the present time in India where they are called Mag".[8] Their migration towards India is recorded in Govindapur insciptrion dated Śaka era 1059 (1137, A.D.), according to which the Maga Brāhmaṇas (a race of *dvija*) were brought from Śakadvīpa by Sāmba.[9] Besides sun-worship, their chief

[1] *Mahābhārata*, Udyoga Parvan, 40. 25.

[1] *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Dāna, GOS, pp. 26-27. Cf. Gṛhastha, pp. 171-179. Sirpur stone inscription, *EI.*, XI, pp. 192-93.

[3] *Chachnama*, (tr.) Beg., Mirza Kalich, pp. 167-168.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[5] Al-Biruni, I, p. 207.

[6] Sharma, Dashrath, *Early Chauhāna Dynasties*, p. 240, fn. 15.

[7] Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 218-222;

[8] Al-Biruni, I, p. 21.

[9] *Epigraphia Indica.*, II, p. 330.

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profession was probably astrology.[1] Sun-worship had become their monopoly.[2] Many Brāhmaṇas also associated themselves with the worship of Jain gods and goddesses.[3] Even these days they perform this duty as pointed out by Dr. Sharma. He is of the opinion that they were originally of non-Brahmanic character.[4] They were at first attached with the sun-temple of Multan after coming from Śakadvīpa. Al-Biruni testifies to their close association with the Sun deity. They were called Maga, i.e. the Magians.[5] According to the Purāṇic sources, the Magas were connected with sun-worship and were also engaged in astrological pursuits and were regarded as degraded Brāhmaṇas.[6] During the early mediaeval period sun-worship was in vogue and Multan was the most famous centre of sun-worship in India, as mentioned by almost all the Muslim writers, especially the Arab geographers. Al-Biruni names the sun deity as Āditya.[7] Qalqashandi especially mentions the Brāhmaṇas of Kanauj as the priestly class of India and Kanauj as the city of the Brāhmaṇas.[8] Even these days the Kanaujia Brāhmaṇas consider themselves a superior community among the Brāhmaṇas. They migrated to other parts of India in the early mediaeval period. Sometimes they were invited to settle in some of the provinces, especially in Bengal, to grace the region by their eloquence and learning.[9]

Regarding the occupations of the Brāhmaṇas Al-Biruni writes, "The universal duties of the Brahman throughout his whole life are works of piety,

1 Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-41, fn. 15 ; p. 240.

2 *Bṛhtsaṁhitā*, 60. 19. Varāhamihira was probably a Maga Brāhmaṇa. Bhojaka Tāraka an astronomer, is mentioned in the *Harṣacarita* as Maga, *Harṣacarita*, N. Sagar edition, p. 128,.

3 Nahar, P. C., *Jain Inscriptions*, I, p. 193.

4 Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

5 Al-Biruni, I, p. 121.

6 *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*, Uttarakāṇḍa, Ch. XIII. 15. 21, Ch. XIV. 66-67.

7 Al-Biruni, I, pp. 116-117, 121. cf. Istkhari who writes, "(In the past) whenever (the neighbouring) Indians went there with the intention of invading them (the priests of the temple) and taking away the idol from them, they brought the idol (out of the temple) and threatened to break it and-burn it" (*The Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies*, Aligarh, No. 5, p. 10). This clearly shows that how deeply the temple was venerated by the Hindus.

8 Spie, Otto, *Al-Qalqashandi : Subh ul-Asha*, p. 397.

9 *JBORS*, II, p. 405 ; *EI.*, XV, p. 298 ; XXIX, p. 56 ; *IA.*, XXI, pp. 97-101. Cf. Vasudeva Upadhyay, *Socio Religious Condition of Northern India*, pp. 34-43.

giving alms and receiving them. For that which the Brahmans give reverts to the *pitaras* (is in reality a benefit to the Fathers). He must continually read, perform the sacrifices, take care of the fire which he lights, offer before it, worship it, and prserve it from being extinguished that he may be burned by it after his death. It is called 'homa'".[1] The *Kathāsaritsāgara* mentions the members of the Brāhmaṇa community engaged in daily sacrifices, conducting other rites and keeping up sacrificial fires in their homes.[2] Some of these professions of the Brāhmaṇas have also been prescribed in the Dharma-śāstras. Teaching and priesthood were the hereditary occupations of the Brāhmaṇas.[3] *Adhyāpana* (teaching), *pratigraha* (accepting gifts) and *yajña* (conducting sacrifices) were their special occupations.[4] According to Al-Biruni the Brāhmaṇas taught the Vedas to the Kṣatriyas.[5] This has been corroborated by our religious texts and the epigraphic sources.[6]

The Brāhmaṇas had been closely associated with the profession of teaching since the early times and it thus became their hereditary profession.[7] While Manu regards the study and teaching of the Vedas as the highest '*dharma*' for the Brāhmaṇas, Yājñvalkya maintains that they were only created for the preservation of the Vedas.[8] Al-Biruni observes in this regard

1 Al-Biruni, II, p. 133.

2 *Kathāsaritsāgara*, CXXIV, 91 ; LXXVII, 3 ; LXXIII, 58 ; L VI, 177. The Sirpur stone inscription mentions that it was one of the duties of the Brāhmaṇas to keep burning sacred fire(*EI.*, XI, pp. 192-193.) Cf. *Kṛtyakalpataru*, (Gṛhastha, Brāhmaṇa Karmadharmavṛttis) According to the opinion of Padmanābha there were 45000 learned Brāhmaṇas in Bhillamala, who daily performed sacrifices with offerings made to all gods, beginning with Indra (Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 289).

3 *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, 1.2 ; *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, I. 10.18.2.

4 *Atri Smṛti*, 13 ; *Śaṅkha Smṛti*, I. 22.

5 Al-Biruni, I, p. 125. It was incumbent on kings to maintain the *Śrotriyas*, i.e., Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas. (Manu, VII. 134 ; Yāj., III. 44, Atri, 24).

6 The inscriptions mention the following sixfold duties *yajña* (Sacrificing for themselves), *yājana* (sacrificing for others), *adhyayana* (studying the Vedas), *adhyāpana* (teaching), *dāna* (giving alms) and *parigraha* (accepting gifts), *EI.*, I, p. 146 ; V, p. 53 ; XI, p. 306; XI, p. 203; XX, p. 128 ; *I.A.*, XVII, p. 226. Cf. Atri, 13 ; Vasiṣṭha, 20. Besides the sixfold duties they were everready to expound the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Itihāsa, the Purāṇas, and Mīmāṁsā. *EI*, XX, pp. 126-128.

7 Kane, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 38, 105-108.

8 Manu, IV. 147 ; Yāj., I. 198. Cf. Gautama, IX. 72.

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that the Brāhmaṇas had complete hold on the teaching of the Vedas.[1] As they were unable to maintain themselves only by their teaching profession, a large number of them adopted priesthood, i.e., they became Purohitas. They thus attached themselves to the royal houses and temples. Some of the early Muslim writers, as stated above, cosider them to be the priestly class, religious class or worshippers of the idols. Al-Biruni remarks, "He gets his sustenance...by presents which he receives from some one, because he performs for him the sacrifices to the fire...There is always a Brahman in the house of those people who there administers the affairs of religion and the work of piety. He is called 'Purohita'.[2] He further remarks that some of them had been maintaining sacred fires and performing various sacrifices prescribed for them. They were called Iṣṭhin, Agnihotrin, and Dīkṣita.[3] The epigraphic records also testify that the Brāhmaṇas were engaged in performing sacrifices for the kings. The epithets of Purohita, Mahāpurohita and Rājaguru were attached to them for conducting various sacrifices.[4] According to the *Harṣacarita* they regularly offered sacrifices and performed other rites.[5] The sacrificial duties of the Purohitas have beed dealt with in greater detail by Lakṣmīdhara in connection with the warding off of calamities in a kingdom.[6] At another place he suggests that a Brāhmaṇa should perform *homa*' and *yajña* to secure victory over an enemy in the battle field.[7] Those who were not proficient in the Vedic lore were condemned.[8] The royal priests were highly honoured.[9] They received donations from the kings in the shape of cash and land-grants. The names of Jaguśarman and Devavara can be mentioned in this regard.[10] The Muslim writers do

[1] Al-Biruni, I, p. 125; II, p. 136.

[2] *Ibid*, II, pp. 131-132. The Pratapgarh inscription of Mahipāla I of the Pratīhāra dynasty was written by Trivikrama who was a Purohita. EI, XIV, p. 128.

[3] Al-Biruni, I, p. 102.

[4] *EI.*, I, p. 136; IV, p. 97; XII, 8; XVI, 92; XII, p. 141; VII, p. 99; XVIII, p. 222. XIX, p. 17.

[5] *Harṣacarita*, Ch. III, p. 36.

[6] *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Rājadharma, p. 176.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

[8] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI. 276.

[9] *EI.*, IV, p. 129.

[10] Ray, H. C., *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, pp. 516-18, 524-25, 536 and 512. Cf. *Revised list of Antiquarian Remains of Bombay Presidency*, p. 329, for the donations made to the Gujarati Purohitas.

not mention priests belonging to castes other than the Brāhmaṇa. They suggest that priesthood became hereditary in their ranks.[1] This is confirmed by *Jaiminī* and *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtras*. According to them, the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas were debarred from priesthood which was the privilege of the Brāhmaṇas.[2]

During the early medieval period, the ruling chiefs of the Rajput dynasties showed their generosity towards constructing temples in large numbers. They also made grants for *Bali* (offering) and *Caru* (oblation) and for the maintenance of the temples.[3] It was, therefore, but natural that a large number of Brāhmaṇas were employed in these temples as priests. From Muslim writers we learn that many priests performed daily rituals concerning the deity. Al-Biruni mentions that the priests attached to the temples of Viṣṇu and Sun were called Bhāgavata and Maga (i.e., Magians) respectively.[4] The Hudud-ul-Alam informs us that large numbers of Brāhmaṇas were engaged in the temples of Qandahar H-Manam and S. Labur near Kanauj.[5] We are told by Al-Qazwini that a thousand Brāhmaṇas were employed in the worship of the idols and the attending the visitors at the doors of the great temple of Somanātha and all were maintained by the endowments of the temple.[6] It is said that the temple was endowed with 10,000 villages, whose revenue was spent on its maintenance. There were one thousand Brāhmaṇas to perform the elaborate ritual and to admit worshippers to the sanctuary.[7] Gardizi also informs us that when Mahmud approached the city of Somanātha he was seen by the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas, who all busied themselves worshipping the idols.[8] From the *Chachnama* we learn that when Kasim invaded Sindh, the priests became poor, because the people, through fear of Muslims, did not continue their offerings. There-

[1] Elliot, I, pp. 6, 20. Cf. *Gautama Dh. S.*, 1.2; *Baudh. Dh. S.*, I. 10, 18.2; Vas. Dh. S., II. 14.

[2] Jaiminī, VI. 6.18; *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, I. 2.28.

[3] *EI.*, XIX. pp. 120, 124, 178; VI, p. 16; VII, p. 59; IX, pp. 13, 325; XVII, p. 322; I, p. 173; XXVI, p. 270.

[4] Al-Biruni, I, p. 121.

[5] Hudud ul-Alam, pp. 88-90.

[6] Elliot, I, p. 98.

[7] Nazim, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, p. 211. Cf. Al-Biruni, II. p. 103, Ibnul Athir, IX, p. 241; Utbi, (Tr.) Sharma, S. R., *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 62.

[8] Gardizi. (Tr. Sharma), p. 30.

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fore, the priests approaced Kasim and requested him to allow the people to visit temples and make their offerings on which their living depended.[1]

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions that the priests enjoyed the revenue of the villages which were donatd to the temples and they also sold flowers and other aromatic articles to the pilgrims.[2] The Sun-temple at Multan was very famous which attracted a large number of pilgrims from different parts of the country. A good deal of offerings including rich presents and pure aloewood were offered to the temple by the Hindu pilgrims. They brought to it vast sums of money, which they expended upon the temple and on those who led a life of devotion.[3] These offerings were sometimes sold by the priests to the merchants as observed by Abu Zayd.[4] The priests attached with the temples fell in estimation of the people. Manu thinks that a temple priest (*Devalaka*) who used to charge fee for conducting rites before the deity for three successive years is unfit to be invited to a *śrāddha* or to perform sacrifices of gods.[5] Reciting *svastivacana* (benedictory *mantra*) was a source of living for less educated priests.[6]

They had other sources of livelihood including teaching fees and sacrificial fees. In this connection Al-Biruni observes, "He gains his sustenance either by the fee he obtains for teaching Brāhmaṇs and Kṣatriyas, not as a payment, as a present, or by presents which he receives from some one because he performs for him sacrifices to the fire, or by asking a gift for the kings and the nobles, there being no importunate pressing on his part, and no unwillingness on the part of the giver".[7] He adds that among the universal duties of the Brāhmaṇas are 'works of piety, giving alms and receiving them'.[8] Al-Biruni has also stated that the kings visited *tīrthas* and gave

1 *Chachnama*, pp. 167-168. 'Many Brahmana priests performed rites on the occasions of births and mourning and were paid for the duties performed' (*Ibid*, p. 168).
2 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II. 137; V. 48-52, 170.
3 Elliot, I, pp. 23, 27-28.
4 *Ibid.*, I, p. 11 Cf. Kṣemendra, who also informs us that the sweets offered on the deity, at times, were sold by the priests (Samayamātṛkā, II. 77).
5 Manu, II. 152. Cf. Devala quoted in *Smṛti-candrikā*, II, p. 396 and Aparārka, pp. 450, 923. The temple priests, the Mahāpātras and the Gaṅgāputras are regarded inferior even these days.
6 *Ratnāvalī* (Madras ed., 1935), Act. I, p. 12.
7 Al-Biruni, II, pp. 131-132. Cf. Lakṣmīdhara, *Kṛtya Kalpataru*, (Gṛhastha), p. 252.
8 Al-Biruri, II, p. 133.

dāna and alms to the Brāhmaṇas.[1] We have many references to land grants mentioning *tīrthas*, where gifts were offered to the Brāhmaṇas.

According to the provisions of the Dharmaśāstras, receiving gifts may be a source of livelihood for the Brāhmaṇas, but at the same time they maintain that the gifts should be from worthy persons belonging to the first three Varṇas. It was considered a more appropriate source of livelihood than charging fee for teaching and officiating as priests. It is recommended that a Brāhmaṇa should approach a king or a rich man for his *Yoga-kṣema*.[2] It has been suggested however that the Brāhmaṇas should not resort to this method again and again.[3] Medhātithi remarks that when a person makes a gift through compassion it is not *dāna* and *pratigraha* according to the Śāstras.[4]

The *Chachnama* informs us that it was considered the bounden duty of the kings to bestow favours on learned men and teachers of morals and Brāhmaṇas, for they were the leaders and guides of the society.[5] The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* says that it is only the learned who can properly accept the gifts.[6] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions at several places that donations were generally made and *agrahāras* were granted to the Brāhmaṇas by the kings.[7] Land gifts to the Brāhmaṇas during the early mediaeval period were considered highly religious by the kings. Hundreds of records testify to this belief. It was generally believed that the gifts of land, cow and gold could save even the wicked from his sins. It is said that 'the donor of land grant enjoys bliss in the heaven for sixty thousand years and he who destroys the gift dwells in the hell for the same period'.[8] Begging was in vogue in some sections of the Brāhmaṇas including the Sanyāsīs. Al-Biruni[9] and the author of the *Chachnama*[10] both testify to it. Begging was

1 *Ibid.*
2 Kane, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 110-112.
3 Yàjñavalkya, I. 213.
4 On Manu, IV. 5.
5 *Chachnama*, p. 44.
6 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, V. 14-56.
7 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V. 16-17, 120; VI. 69; VII. 295-297; V. 403, 432; VI. 89; VII. 184 etc.
8 Kane, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 858-863.
9 Al-Biruni, II, p. 162.
10 *Chachnama*, p. 169. The Sanyāsis are generally mentioned by the Muslim writers. Elliot, I, pp. 6, 76.

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an established institution in ancient India closely associated with the *Brahmacarya Āśrama.*

Some of the Brāhmaṇas earned their livelihood by practising medicine, astrology, and other occult sciences. Sulayman and other Muslim writers inform us that medicine and philosophy were very popular in India. Among the class of the learned people there were philosophers, physicians and astrologers, who formed a community of their own and their profession was hereditary.[1] They were quite influential in society. The houses of astrologers were visited even by the kings, as the *Chachnama* says.[2] Their advice was sought in matters of marriage settlements, war preparations and birth.[3] They are mentioned in the inscriptions along with physicians and Ṭhākur Brāhmaṇas.[4] It appears from Manu that doctors were not held in high esteem. He maintains that no invitation should be extended to a doctor for dinner in celebration of a *havya* or *kavya* ritual.[5] The *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* has a low opinion of the Brāhmaṇas of the astrologer class engaged in worshipping planets and of those who were born of Śākadvīpī Devalak Brāhmaṇas.[6] Astrology was one of the chief professions of the Maga or Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas, who were considered degraded. They were astrologers, magicians and physicians.[7] But from the accounts of the early Muslim writers, the physicians and astrologers commanded respect in society like other scholars and their profession was not treated with contempt by the society.[8] Commenting on this, Altekar writes, "Its disparagement by Manu and others is probably due to their theory that medicine was the profession of a mixed caste called Ambashta, a view which does not seem to have been found on the actual state of affairs in the society. Puritanical notions of purity may also have

1 Nainar, pp. 106, 113-114 ; cf. Elliot, I, pp. 6, 20.
2 *Chachnama*, pp. 43-44.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 44 ; Elliot, II, p. 308.
4 *IA.*, XV, p. 17 ; XVIII, p. 13 ; XIX, p. 218.
5 Manu as quoted in *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 326.
6 *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* (Uttarakāṇḍa), Ch. XIII. 51-52 ; Ch. XIV, 66-67.
7 In *Harṣacarita* (IV) Bāṇa speaks of Bhojaka astrologer called Tāraka, who predicts on Harṣa's birth and the commentator says that Bhojaka means a 'Maga'.
8 In the 8th century a Brāhmaṇa physician was among donees and recipient of an *agrahāra* village given by a Pallava king. *IA.*, VIII, pp. 249-250.

been partly responsible for the ban placed on the doctors at the *Śrāddha* dinner".[1]

There was also a small section of the Brāhmaṇas engaged in poetic pursuits. Abu Zayd remarks that, "Indians have their poets who live at the courts of their kings and compose verses stuffed with flattery in praise of their kings.[2] During the early mediaeval period we have a large number of noted scholars and poets who lived at the courts of rulers. The kings patronised them and encouraged them to compose literary works as well as original treatises on various subjects relating to the Dharmaśāstras. They were usually the composers of the family inscriptions of the dynasties.[3]

Besides their normal sixfold duties prescribed for the Brāhmaṇas, they could follow in times of distress, the occupations of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, as permitted to them by the Smṛti writers like Manu..[4] Al-Biruni observes that the administrative duties were also entrusted to the Brāhmaṇas in olden days. But as they could not successfully perform them the duties of ruling and fighting were entrusted to the Kṣatriyas.[5] Though Al-Biruni is silent on the administrative and military duties of the Brāhmaṇas during his times, Gautama, Manu and others allowed them to take up arms in time of distress, 'for saving cows and Brāhmaṇas or preventing admixture of varṇas.'[6] In this connection Śukra suggests that on the non-availability of a suitable Kṣatriya a Brāhmaṇa could be appointed a Sen pati.[7] We learn from the *Chachnama* that Brāhmaṇa Chacha was not only well-educated, he was also a skilled fighter, who also successfully defeated his opponents.[8] In this connection Gardizi informs us that when Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna laid siege to the fort of Somanātha, the garrison was assisted by the Brāhmaṇas and the devotees of the idol defended with courage and des-

1 Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 326.
2 Abu Zayd (Supplement), p. 87 ; Nainar, p. 119 ; Elliot, I, p. 10.
3 *EI*, XIV, p. 182. Cf. S. K. Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, p. 173. *EI.*, I, p. 31 ; II. p. 354 ; XX. p. 57.
4 Manu, X. 81-82.
5 Al-Biruni, II, pp. 161-162.
6 Gautama, VII, 6.25 ; Manu, VIII, 348-349 ; *Mahābhārata*, Śānti Parva, 78.8 ; Śalya Parva, 65.42. But Āpastamba (I. 10.29.7 ; II. 7.17.21), does not support the view.
7 Śukra, II, 429-30. The *Agni Purāṇa* and *Matsya Purāṇa* recommend that the Senāpati must either be a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya (*Agni Purāṇa*, 220. 1 ; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 215.10).
8 *Chachnama*, pp. 14-15.

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peration as fanatics.[1] Utbi also states that the fort of Muñja was the fort of Brāhmaṇas and that they were very stubborn and so hot-headed that they only knew how to create disturbances and they prepared themselves for a grim fight.[2] In Bengal, Gobardhana was not only a well known scholar but also a famous warrior.[3] The inscriptions of the Candellas, Kalacurīs and Caulukyas also mention Brāhmaṇas as military officers.[4] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* also refers to Brāhmaṇa soldiers who fought bravely on the battle field.[5]

The Brāhmaṇas also occupied various administrative posts in the state. Sulayman informs us that there were Brāhmaṇa judges to decide cases.[6] But Al-Biruni does not concur with this view. According to law-givers, the Brāhmaṇas generally performed the judicial functions. This was due to their vast learning and mastery over the Dharmaśāstra literature. The Brāhmaṇas were appointed as ministers, city prefects and Daṇḍanāyakas.[7] We are informed by Masudi that the city of Cambay was governed by a Brāhmaṇa named Babna on behalf of the Balhara (the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings). He, like his masters, was generous towards the Muslims.[8] We are told by the *Chachnama* that Chacha was first appointed in the correspondence department and he disposed of state affairs so efficiently that he rose to be the chamberlain.[9] The Prime Minister of the Śāhi king Dahir of Sindh was also a Brāhmaṇa and was retained even by Kasim.[10][12] Sometimes, the Brāhmaṇas became rulers, which indicates that they must have taken to the profession of arms. The two kings of Sindh, namely, Chacha and Dahir, were Brāhmaṇas.[11] The Śāhi rulers of Kabul were also Brāhmaṇas.[12] The

1 Gardizi (Tr. Sharma), pp. 30-31 ; Ibn-ul-Athir, IX. p. 242. Cf. Nazim, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, pp. 117-118.
2 Utbi (Tr. Sharma), p. 62.
3 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, pp. 33, 37.
4 *EI*, IV, p. 158 ; IA, XXV, p. 205 ff. *I H Q*, 1928, p. 35. Cf. *Dvyāśrayakāvya* of Hemacandra, XVI.
5 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII. 1480, VIII. 1013, 1071, 472, VII. 91, 1017, 1171.
6 Sulayman, p. 35.
7 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VIII. 108 ; IV. 137, 469-496 ; VI. 168-194, 284 ; VII. 108 ; *EI*, II, p. 306, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 32 ff., *I H Q*, XVI, p. 571 ; *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 90.
8 Masudi I, (Tr. Sprenger), p. 278.
9 *Chachnama*, pp. 14-15.
10 *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 7.
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last Śāhi king was Bhīma, who ws succeeded by the Rajaput ruler Jayapāla.[1] There are many instances of Brāhmaṇa rulers in the earlier period. The Śuṅgas, Sātavāhanas, Vākāṭakas and the Kadambas were all Brāhmaṇas.[2] These examples prove that sometimes the Brāhmaṇas performed military as well as administrative duties. In distress the Brāhmaṇas could follow the occupation of the Vaiśyas, but there were certain moral restrictions imposed upon them, as Al-Biruni informs us "Lastly the Brahman lives from what he gathers on earth or from trees. He may try his fortune in the trade of clothes and betal-nuts, but it is preferable that he should not trade himself, and that a Vaiśya should do the business for him, because originally trade is forbidden on account of the deceiving and lying which are mixed up with it. Trading is permitted to him only in case of dire necessity, when he has no other means of sustenance. The Brahman is not, like the other caste, bound to pay taxes and to perform services to the kings. Further he is not allowed continually to busy himself with horses and cows, with the care for the cattle, nor with gaining by usury".[3] From this statement of Al-Biruni it appears that the Brāhmaṇas overlooked the advice of Manu and Yājñavalkya that 'a Brāhmaṇa should live on the collected ears of corn or grain that are left in the field after the crops are gathered than to accept the gift of unworthy men'.[4] Al-Biruni's observation follows to some extent the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, which says that a Brāhmaṇa may live upon agriculture,[5] trade etc., if they appoint agents to carry on the business.[6] Money-lending was not permissible to the Brāhmaṇas. The *Vaśiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra* says that "a usurer is a greater sinner than even one who is guilty of Brāhmaṇa murder".[7] The

1 Al-Bimni, II, p. 13 ; Briggs, *Firishta*, I, p. 15.
2 The Pratihāras of Kanauj were probably of Brāhmaṇa origin. They descended from Bhadrā, the Kṣatriya wife of Haricandra, the Brāhmaṇa Pratihāra ruler of Mandor (EI, XVIII, pp. 87 ff. ; IX, pp. 275 ff.) Dr. Dasharath Sharma thinks that the Cauhānas too were of Brāhmaṇa origin. They call themselves Vatsyagotrins and Vipras. (*The Early Chauhan Dynasties*, Ch. I.).
3 Al-Biruni, II, p. 132.
4 Manu, X. 112 ; Yājñavalkya, I, 128.
5 Al-Biruni does not mention the agricultural activities of the Brāhmaṇas. Probably in the early mediaeval period the Śūdras were more engaged in agriculture than the Vaiśyas. The law-givers suggest that a Brāhmaṇa should avoid the avocation of a Śūdra even if the dire necessity arises. (Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 133).
6 Gautama, X. 5-6 ; Kane, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 123-125.
7 *Vaśiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra*, II, 40 ; Cf. Manu, X, 117 ; Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 124

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7 *Vaśiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra*, II, 40 ; Cf. Manu, X, 117 ; Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 124

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writers of the Dharmaśāstras forbid Brāhmaṇas to trade.[1] In support of this Lakṣmīdhara has also mentioned these authorities.[2] Even so, some Brāhmaṇas tried their fortune in the trade of clothes and betel-nut.[3] Al-Biruni also writes that they should not indulge in horse-trading, which is also forbidden by Manu.[4] But the Pehoa inscription of the ninth century mentions that Brāhmaṇa Vāmuka was one of the horse-dealers who assembled in Pṛthūdaka.[5] We have a number of instances to show that they were serving the states in various capacities, as ministers, tax-collectors and soldiers.[6] However, the reasons for these restrictions were to prevent them from indulging in worldly affairs and devote themselves to spiritual life for which they were created.[7]

In addition to their privileges, namely, teaching the Vedas receiving gifts, marrying women of other castes,[8] they claimed two more privileges relating to exemption from taxation and capital punishment. As regards the first, Al-Biruni remarks, "The Brahmans are not, like the other castes, bound to pay taxes and perform services to the kings".[9] He further says, "with regard to that which he earns by the crops or from the cattle, he is bound first to pay to the ruler of the country the tax which attaches to the soil or the pasture ground. Further he pays him one-sixth of the income in recognition of the protection which he affords to the subjects, their property, and their families. The same obligation rests also on the common people, but they will always lie and cheat in the declaration about their property. Further trading businesses, too, pay a tribute for the same reason. Only the Brahmans are exempted from all these taxes".[10] Although exemption from taxation has been recommended by most authorities only for the

1 Gautama, VII. 8-15; *Vaśiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra*, II. 24-29. *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*, I. 7-20. 11-13; *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, II. 1-77-78; Yājñavalkya, II. 40.

2 *Kṛtyakalpataru* (Gṛhastha), pp. 199-212.

3 Marco Polo remarks about the Brāhmaṇa merchants of Lar that these Abraia-mans are the best merchants in the world and most truthful, "for they would not tell a lie for anything on earth". (Yule; *MarcoPolo*, p. 363).

4 Manu, X. 89.

5 *EI*, I, pp. 184, 472.

6 *Chachnama*, pp. 14-16, 168-169.

7 Kane, *op. cit.*, II. p. 124.

8 Al-Biruni, I, p. 100; II, pp. 133-156.

9 *Ibid.*, II, p. 132; Cf. *Mānnsollāsa*, I, p. 44, 166.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 149. Cf. *Kṛtyakalpataru* (Rājadharma), pp. 91-92.

Śrotriyas,[1] some have claimed this privilege for all the Brāhmaṇas. The *Vaśiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra* says, "A king ruling over his subjects according to the rules of the Śāstra should take the sixth part of all wealth except from Brāhmaṇas".[2] The *Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra* also recommends that a king should not recover taxes from Brāhmaṇas.[3] Al-Biruni say that the whole community of Brāhmaṇas was exempted from the payment of taxes, but Altekar and Ghoshal do not agree with this view on the ground that neither the *Mahābhārata* and Nārada nor the 13th century inscriptions of south India, exempt the Brāhmaṇas from the taxes.[4] We may conclude that only the learned Brāhmaṇas were entitled to this privilege. During the early mediaeval period the donees of the Brahmadeya grants were as a rule learned Brāhmaṇas. A large number of grants were frequently made by the rulers because of the belief that 'the king shared in the religious merit accumulated by the Brāhmaṇas'[5]. On this subject the *Mahābhārata* says "A king whose treasury is empty should levy taxes from all Brāhmaṇas except those that are described as Brāhmasama and Devasama".[6]

No capital punishment was given to the Brāhmaṇas.[7] In this connection Al-Biruni observes, "If the murderer is a Brahman and the murdered person a member of another caste he is only bound to do expiation (consisting of fasting, prayers and alms-giving)". He adds, "If the murdered person is a Brahman, the Brahman murderer has to answer to it in a future life".[8] While the Brāhmaṇa assassin could atone for his sins by expiation, a non-Brāhmaṇa assassin was not allowed to do the same. The killing of a Brāhmaṇa (*Brahmahatyā*) was considered a sinful crime. A Brāhmaṇa was not to be executed even if he was charged with the crimes of killing a cow, drinking of wine and whoredom. The kings could only confiscate his property and banish him from their country".[9] The *Chachnama* in-

1 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 6.2.18; *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*, II. 10.26. 10; Manu, VII. 133; *Vaśiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra*, 19.23.

2 *Vaśiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra*, I. 42-43.

5 *Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra*, III-25.

4 Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 327-328. Cf. *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 195; U. N. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 138. Cf. Kane; *op. cit.*, II, p. 143.

5 Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 143.

6 Śānti Parva, 76. 2-3, 5-9. Cf. *Nītivākyāmṛta*, XXI. 14.

7 Manu, VIII. 38. Medhātithi is even against a small fine to be imposed on a guilty Brāhmaṇa (on Manu, VIII. 128).

8 Al-Biruni, II, p. 162.

9 Ibid.

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forms us that the Brāhmaṇas and the monks were not killed.[1] Hsuan Tsang writes that Harṣa exiled those Brāhmaṇas who had conspired to kill him.[2]

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* says that king Candrāpīḍa did not award capital punishment to a Brāhmaṇa murderer because of his caste.[3] Branding and banishment were the heaviest punishments to which a Brāhmaṇa could be sentenced.[4] Manu prescribes heavy fines for a Brāhmaṇa guilty of rape or adultery.[5] Kauṭilya also forbids corporal punishment for Brāhmaṇas but recommends branding on the forhead, as has been prescribed by Manu.[6] Some authorities prescribe capital punishment for Brāhmaṇa found guilty of destruction, etc.[7] However, according to Al-Biruni, for the guilt of theft of costly articles they were blinded and mutilated.[8] Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Śaṅkha prescribe branding and banishment, particularly for theft.[9] Commenting on capital punishment Altekar rightly remarks, "It may be pointed out that the sentence for the theft of a precious article referred to by Al-Biruni is not to be found in the Smṛti literature. It would, therefore, appear that the Hindu state of our period normally refrained from inflicting the capital punishment on the Brāhmaṇa, probably because the alternative punishment permitted by the Dharmaśāstra or custom was sufficiently deterrent. The life of a Brāhmaṇa blinded and banished or blinded and maimed in the right hand and the left was hardly better than a living death".[10]

The Brāhmaṇas observed a great deal of orthodoxy which distinguished them from other caste-people. Their life was 'pure, simple and virtuous'

1 *Chachnama*, p. 184. Cf. Elliot, I, p. 105. According to *Mujmal ut-Tawarikh*, the general feeling was that the Brāhmaṇas and the cows should not be killed.
2 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 221.
3 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV. 96. Cf. *Ibid*, VII. 1229, VIII. 1013, 2060.
4 Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 141.
5 Manu, VIII. 378.
6 Kauṭilya, IV. 8; Manu, IX. 237.
7 On Yājñyavalkya: II. 283 (Kātyāyana quoted by Viśvarupa); Śukra, IV. 1151. Cf. *Age of the Imperial Kanauj*, p. 369.
8 Al-Biruni, II. p. 162.
9 Yàjñyavalkya, II. 270; Nārada (Sāhasa) V. 10; On Yājñyavalkya, II. 270 (Śamkha quoted by the Mitākṣarā).
10 Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 329.

says the *Chachnama*.[1] They washed themselves thrice a day and were always engaged in religious pursuits. Meat and wine were forbidden to them, writes Al-Biruni.[2] Other Muslim writers also point out that they did not drink wine or any of the fermented liquors and eat no meat.[3] Five vegetables were also forbidden to them, including onions and garlics.[4] They took their meals only twice a day. They did not dine with other caste people and sometimes with their own caste members, if two were on enmity.[5] They could not take the remains of meals; water vessels and eating instruments were broken if they were used by others. The eating spot was washed or plastered with clay or cowdung to purify it again.[6] They were permanently expelled from their caste if they ate food at the home of a Śūdra even for sundry days.[7] To quote Aṅgirasa, if a Brāhmaṇa accepted a Śūdra's food continuously for a month he became a 'Śūdra for his life-time and was born a dog in his next birth'.[8] The Brāhmaṇas had to live between the rivers Sindhu in the north and the Carmaṇvatī in the south. They were not allowed to cross either of these frontiers so as to enter the country of the Turks, or of the Karanāta. Further they had to live between the ocean in the east and west. They were also not allowed to live in the country where Kuśa grass was not grown. If they passed beyond these limits, they committed a sin.[9] Marvazi also states that they were advised not to cross the Gaṅgā, otherwise, they would be outcast.[10] As regards matrimonial relationship, Al-Biruni writes that while they were allowed to marry four women including three from lower castes, they never married any women except their own.[11] This statement of Al-Biruni agrees with the observations of other Muslim writers who say that they could marry women of the Kṣa-

1 *Chachnama*, p. 183.
2 Al-Biruni, II, p. 133: The Chinese traveller Hsuan Tsang writes There are fore orders.. "The first is that of the Brāhmins or "purely living"; these keep their principles and live continently, strictly observing ceremonial purity". (Watters, I, p. 168).
3 Al-Biruni, II, p. 133.
4 *Ibid*, II, p. 135. Cf. Manu, XI. 93-94.
5 *Ibid*, I, p. 101; II, p. 134.
6 *Ibid*, I. p. 102.
7 *Ibid*, II. pp. 134-135, 163.
8 Aṅgirasa, V. 67. Cf. Vyāsa, IV. 68-69; Atri, VIII. 19-20; *Kūrma Purāṇa*, Ch. XVIII. 1-2.
9 Al-Biruni, II, pp. 134-135.
10 Marvazi, p. 41. Cf. Gardizi, p. 631.
11 Al-Biruni, II. pp. 155-156.

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triya class but did not give them theirs.[1] Orthodoxy thus became a part of the life of the Brāhmaṇas. At one place Al-Biruni remarks that the religion of the Hindus is the religion of the Brāhmaṇas,[2] which is by and large correct.

[1] Elliot, I, p. 16; Nainar, p. 130; Marvazi, p. 39. Gardizi, p. 627. Cf. Manu, III. 13; Yājñavalkya, I. 56; *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, IV. 2-5. *Mahābhārata*, XIII. 48. 4-8.

[2] Al-Biruni, I, p. 39.

अमोघवर्ष प्रथम

(लगभग ८१४-८० ई०)

दीनबन्धु पाण्डेय

पृष्ठभूमि

राष्ट्रकूट वंश का प्रतापी शासक गोविन्द तृतीय (लगभग ७९३-८१४ ई०) अपने दिग्वजय अभियान के दौरान उत्तरी भारत एवं पूर्वी भारत के शासकों को परास्त करता हुआ जव पश्चिम की ओर वढ़ा तो विन्ध्यपाद के श्रीभवन नामक नगर के शासक शर्व ने उस की आव-भगत अपनी राजधानी में की। गोविन्द तृतीय ने वर्षाकाल का अधिकांश श्रीभवन में ही व्यतीत किया। इस विश्राम-काल में ही गोविन्द तृतीय को पुत्र-रत्न की प्राप्ति हुई। इस वालक का नाम शर्व रखा गया।[1] यही वाद में अमोघवर्ष के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुआ। गोविन्द तृतीय के उत्तरी अभियान की समाप्ति लगभग ८०० ई० तक हो गयी थी।[2] अतः शर्व के जन्म की तिथि लगभग ८०१ ई० मानी जा सकती है।

उत्तर, पूर्व एवं मध्य भारत की विजय के उपरान्त गोविन्द तृतीय को दक्षिण में पल्लव, पाण्ड्य, केरल, एवं गङ्ग शासकों के उठ खड़े हुए विरोधी गुट को पुनः परास्त करने जाना पड़ा।[3] दक्षिण की ये विजएं[4] ८०२ ई० के अन्त से पहले ही पूरी हो चुकी थीं।[5] गोविन्द तृतीय इन दक्षिण भारतीय विजयों के उपरान्त शान्ति पूर्वक शासन करता रहा। ८१४ ई० तक उसके शासन काल में किसी प्रकार की अशान्ति की वात किसी स्रोत से ज्ञात नहीं होती। गोविन्द तृतीय की राजनीतिज्ञता एवं उसके दृढ़ शासन का ही यह परिणाम माना जाना चाहिए कि अपने राज्य के चारों ओर के पड़ोसी शासकों को पराजित करके उसने अपने अन्तिम वारह वर्ष शान्ति पूर्वक व्यतीत किए। यह सारी शान्ति गोविन्द तृतीय के व्यक्तित्व का परिणाम थी। सम्भवतः उसके सामन्त एवं करद शासक केवल दिखावे

[1] सञ्जान अभिलेख, **एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका**, भाग १८, पृष्ठ २४५-६, श्लोक २५-६
प्रत्यावृत्तः प्रातिराज्यं विधेयं कृत्वा रेवामुत्तरं (रां) विन्ध्यपादे।
कुर्वन्धर्म्मान्कीर्त्तनैः पुण्य [वृ]न्दैरघ्यष्टात्तान्सो(स्वो) चितां राजधानी(नीं) ॥
मण्डलेश(शो)महाराज(:)सर्व्वस्व (शर्व्वःस्वो) यदभूद्भुवः।
महाराजसर्व्व (शर्व्वः) स्वामी भावी तस्य सुतोजनि ॥

[2] द्रष्टव्य, ए० एस० अल्तेकर, **दि एज आफ इम्पीरियल कनौज**, आर० सी० मजुमदार एवं अन्य सम्पादित, बम्बई, १९६४, पृष्ठ ८; पृष्ठ १८ पर पाद टिप्पणी १७ भी।

[3] संजान अभिलेख, **एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका**, भाग १८, पृष्ठ २४६, श्लोक ३०।

[4] **वही**, श्लोक ३२-४।

[5] द्रष्टव्य, ए० एस० अल्तेकर, **दि एज आफ इम्पीरियल कनौज**, पृष्ठ ८।

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